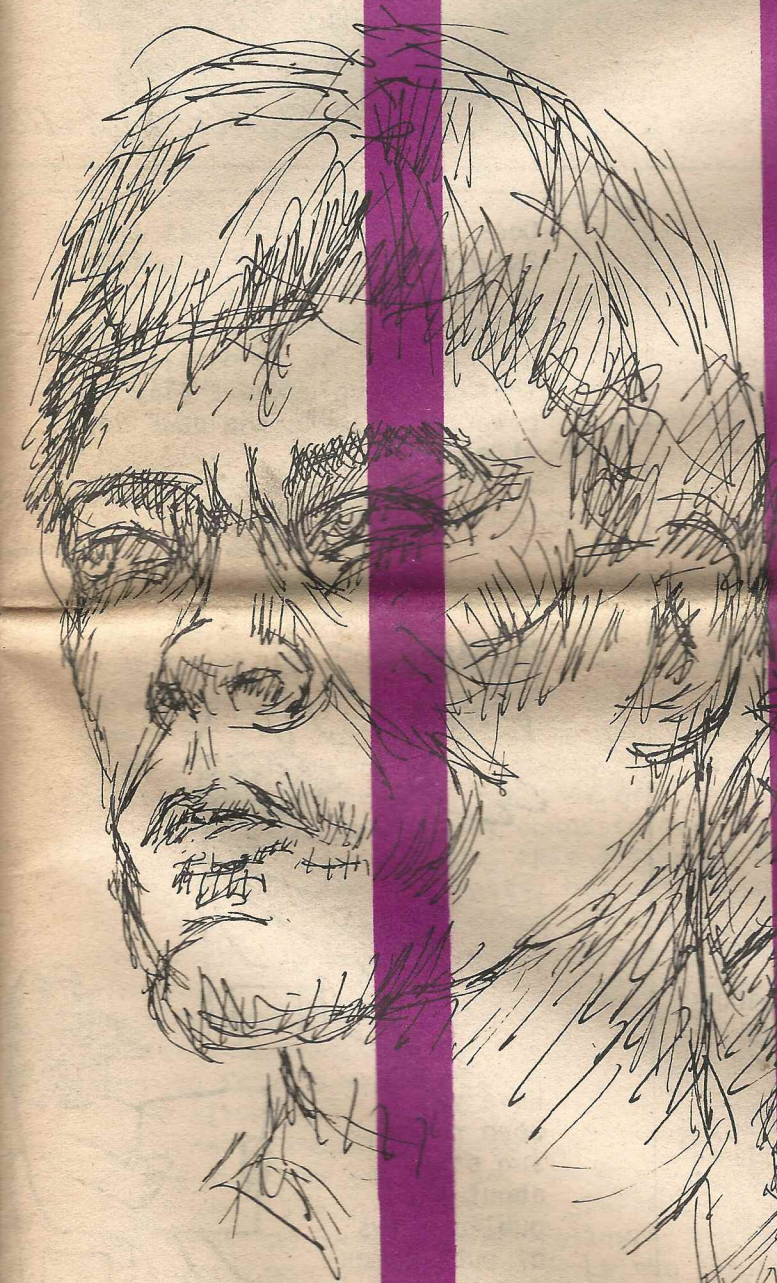


# COMMON SENSE 25c

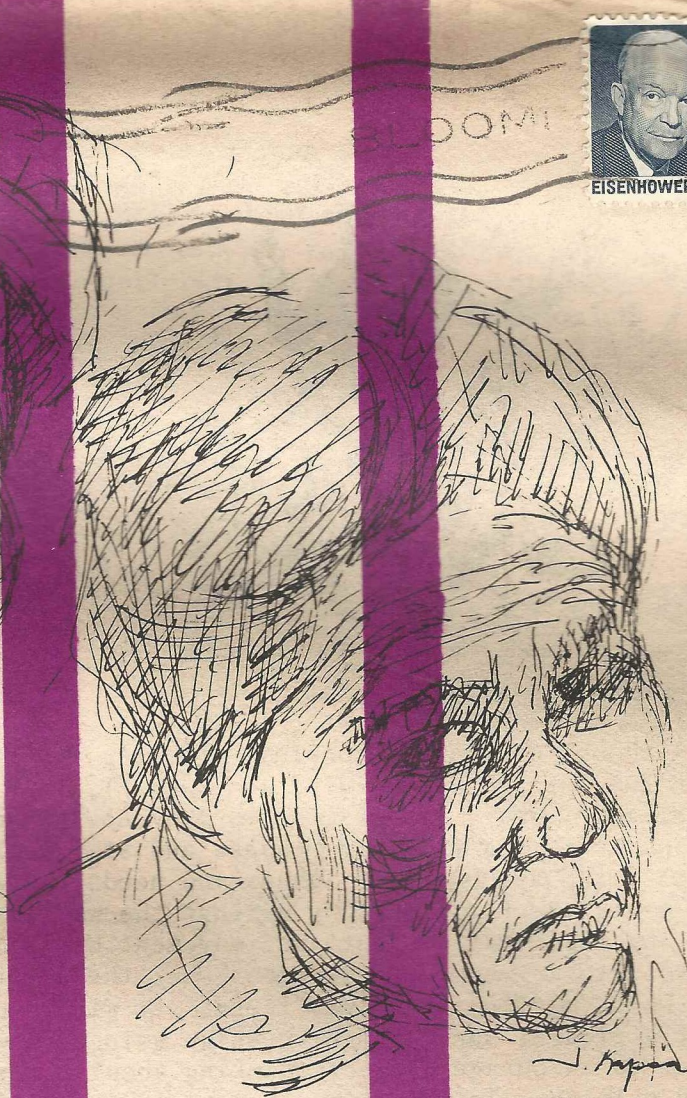
BLOOMINGTON  
INDIANA  
VOLUME I,  
NUMBER 3

MAY 16 - JUNE 15, 1971

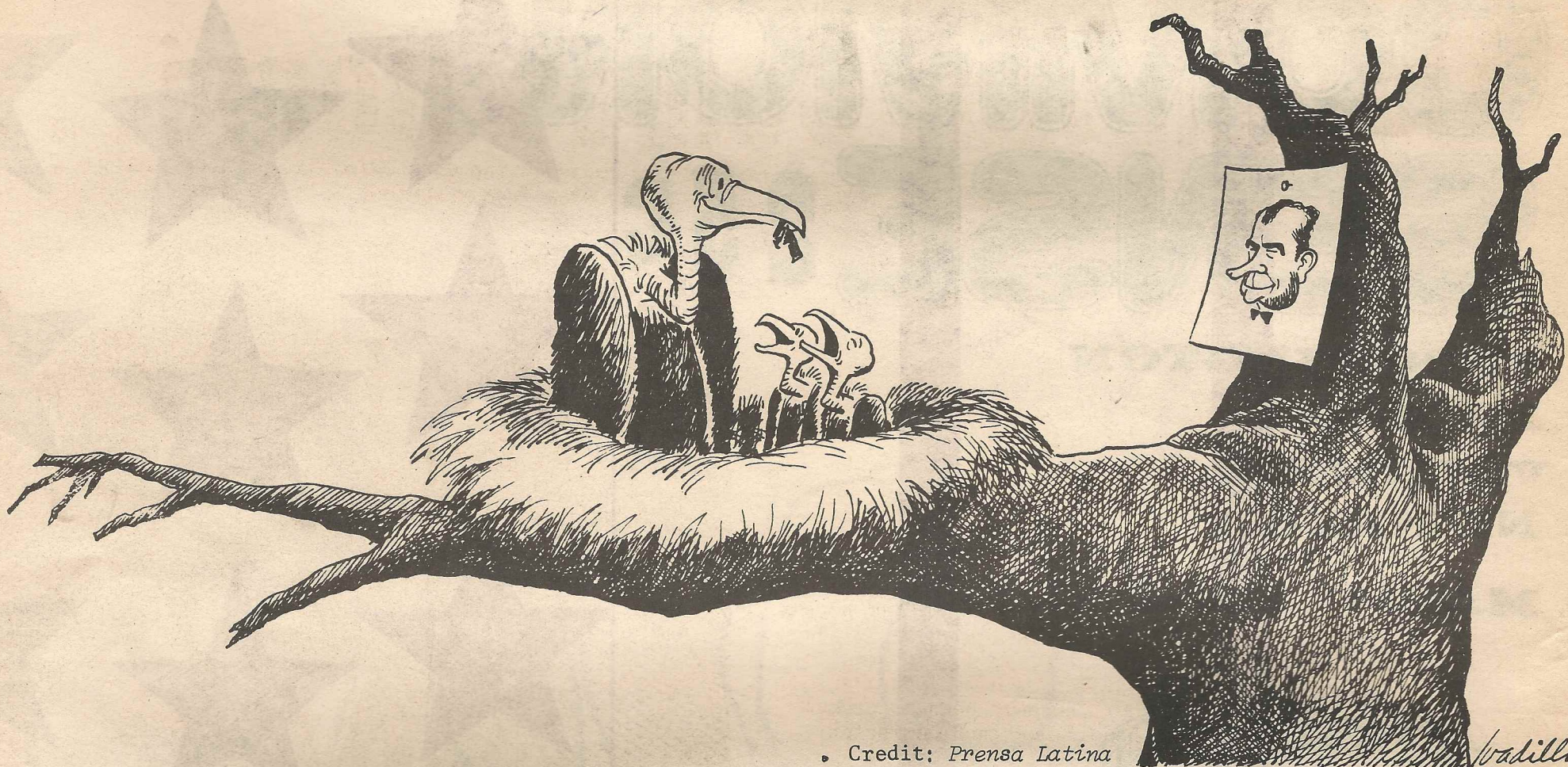


Prairie Fire  
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CANADA

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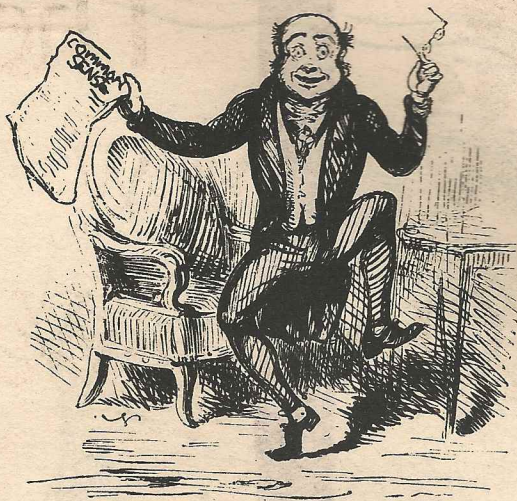






• Credit: Prensa Latina

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## COMMON SENSE

is published on the first and sixteenth of each month (except June-August, when it will appear as needed) by the Bloomington Independent Publishing Corporation, P.O. Box 1335, Bloomington, In 47401. Founded April 1, 1971. Member Liberation News Service, Underground Press Syndicate. Contents not copyrighted except for individual articles so marked, but credit Common Sense for any of our material you reprint.

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Although we plan to continue printing over the summer on a monthly basis (on the 16th of June, July, and August), this will be our last issue of the school year. Thanks for so many new readers on such short notice.

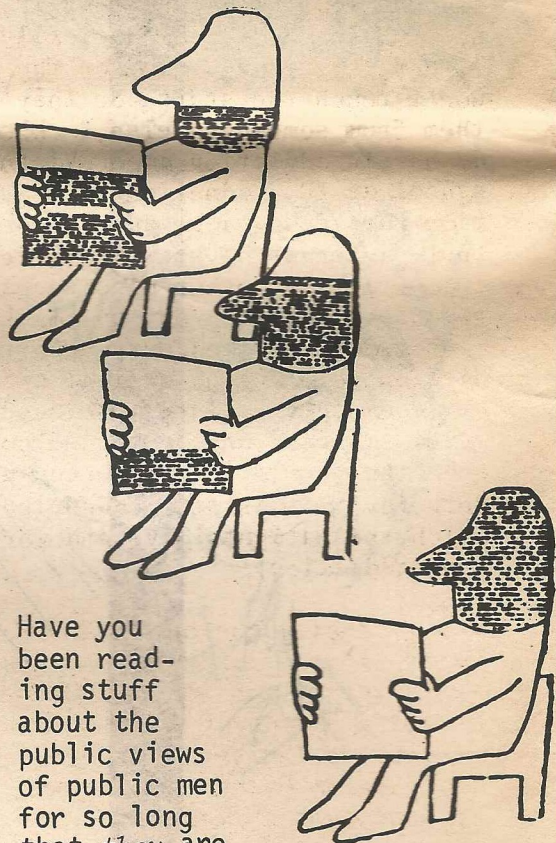
Summer for many of our readers and staff will be a time of grassroots organizing around local issues and needs, as well as continued efforts to swell the rising outcry against the war in Southeast Asia.

Many feel that the anti-war movement has broadened into a positive, revolutionary humanist movement, but the exact nature of the new nation in which we find ourselves is not yet clear to many of us. We want to get a clearer sense of where we're going and who's going with us. We want to encourage clearer thinking about the relation between cultural and political leftist directions, and to cultivate an objective vision of the place we're living in.

During the summer, Common Sense will be expanding its facilities, working on a super back-to-school/back-to-Bloomington issue for the fall, and trying to build a solid readership base among working class and other non-student people in the community. We hope you'll inform us of your summer address changes and subscribe if you haven't done that already.

Common Sense is available at the Book Nook and Book Corner, Curry's, the IMU Lobby, Bookstore, and Activities Desk, and of course from your favorite hawker. If you live away from the central campus and really like what we're doing, please try to distribute a few copies to your neighbors and friends.

Does it seem to you that the Establishment Press is guilty of personality cultism with respect to Richard Nixon and his doings? Is it possible that the people who really have power don't make the news very often?



Have you been reading stuff about the public views of public men for so long that they are starting to read you? Why not subscribe to Common Sense today?

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# Opium War Comes Home....

*"The story of opium in Southeast Asia is a strange one.... But the conclusion is known in advance: this war has come home again--in a silky grey powder that goes from a syringe into America's mainline."*  
Ramparts (May, 1971)

Below we're reprinting selections from "The New Opium War," a remarkable article appearing in full in the current issue of *Ramparts* magazine. According to the article, "Heroin has become the major killer of young people between 18 and 35, outpacing death from accidents, suicides or cancer. It has also become a major cause of crime: to sustain their habits, addicts in the U.S. spend more than \$15 million a day, half of it coming from the 55 percent of crime in the cities which they commit and the annual \$2.5 billion worth of goods they steal."

Until recently, heroin addiction has been strictly a "big city problem" whose major sources were opium-growers in the Middle East. But today, the appropriate symbol for our drug problem would be an enormous junkie's "cooker" spoon whose handle lies in the "Fertile Triangle" of northwestern Burma, northern Thailand, and Laos (see map). The cooking end of the spoon is right here, in Bloomington.

The war in Southeast Asia keeps coming home each day in some new and frightening way, but few have been as dramatic as the sudden increase of heroin use in Bloomington since last year.

According to Middle Way House advisor Bob Ladner, heroin use in Bloomington has risen to an estimated ten times what it was a year ago (from an estimated thirty to an estimated three hundred frequent users). Ladner said that the heroin currently being marketed in Bloomington is very strong, testing out as high as 20% pure in contrast to the average for street heroin (1 1/2% to 7% pure). Many who have never been tempted to try heroin before are curious about rumors of "some heavy Laotian smack" floating around town, "as if that were something new," Ladner added sardonically. "The users are mostly either very young--most of the older Bloomington heads won't touch the stuff--or they've brought a habit in with them from somewhere else." When asked about the incidence of heroin addiction among Vietnam veterans attending school at IU, Ladner observed that "heroin use and ambition for good grades do not go together." He said that those veterans he knew who were into the dope scene "are into grass and other mind drugs--they've seen too many guys in Nam strung out on smack to be interested in it."

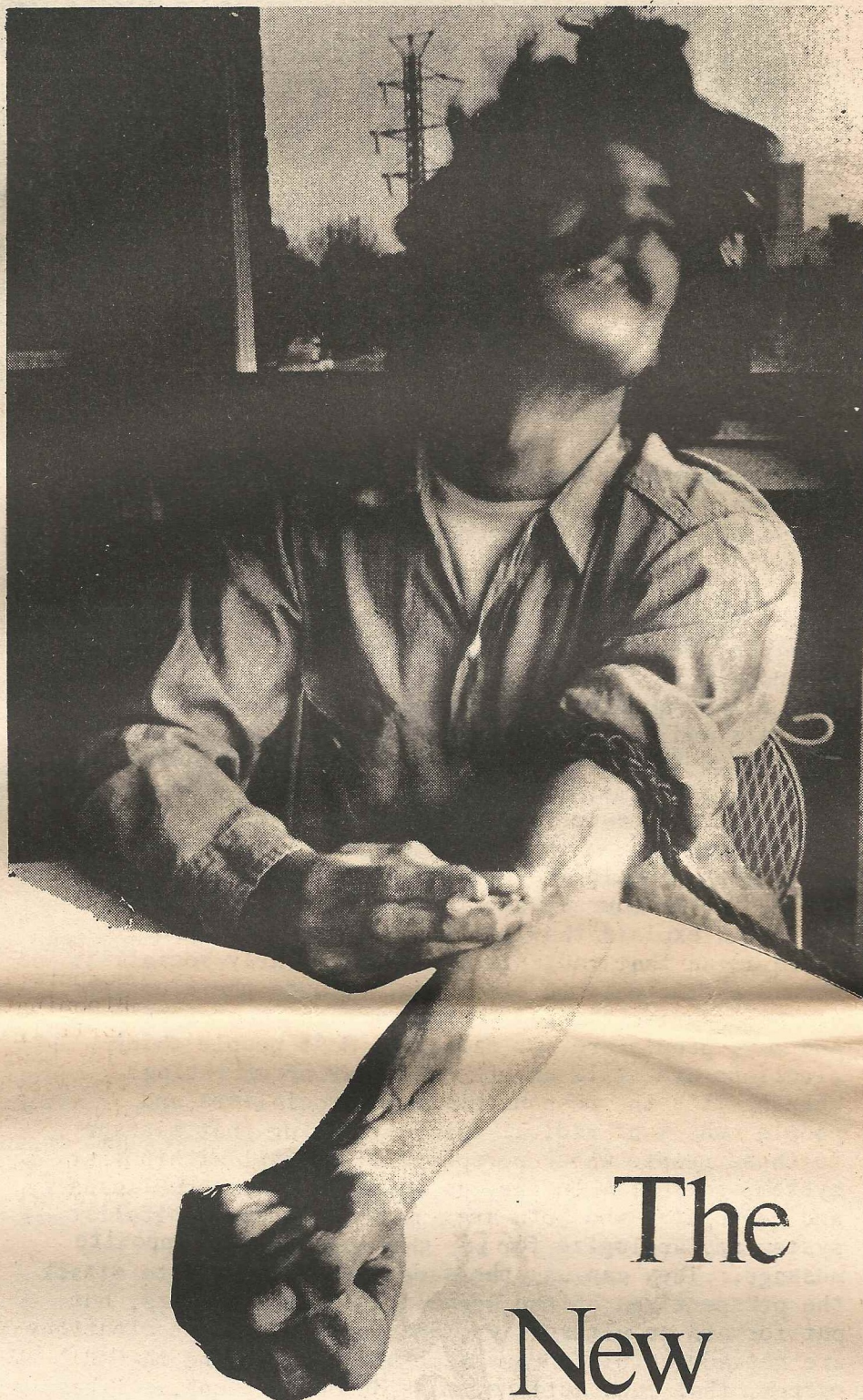
As Ladner pointed out, efforts to treat hard-drug addiction solely as a medical or law-enforcement problem are doomed to failure. We need more places with a humane, revolutionary purpose like Bloomington's Middle Way House and like Bridge Over Troubled Waters (a collective in Berkeley that is staffed entirely by ex-junkies, and in which the patients live and work to help others overcome junk addiction).

But finally the heroin problem in Bloomington and everywhere else will require more than the creation of treatment centers for its solution, unless we're prepared to become a nation of junkies and therapists. The basic reality of the heroin problem is that we live in an economic system based on the profit-motive and on consumerism, an economy that thrives on the creation of new artificial economic needs. And as ex-addict William Burroughs has said, "Junk is the ideal product...the ultimate merchandise. No sales talk necessary. The client will crawl through a sewer and beg to buy.... The junk merchant does not sell his product to the consumer, he sells the consumer to his product. He does not improve and simplify his merchandise. He degrades and simplifies the client. He pays his staff in junk.... A dope fiend is a man in total need of dope.... In the words of total need: "Wouldn't you?" Yes, you would. You would lie, cheat, inform on your friends, steal, do anything to satisfy total need."

Heroin is the perfect consumer good in a consumer economy. The problem of junk is really turning out to be the problem of living in a dog-eat-dog system. That system can moralize about junk, can arrest users and pushers, can create drug education and therapy programs, etc., but can not address itself to destroying the international traffic in junk...because if it did, the economy of the Royal Laotian Government would collapse, another Asian domino would fall, "American interests" in Southeast Asia would be jeopardized.

A system that is based upon greed, wasted lives, and the creation of synthetic habits cannot destroy the junk trade because pushing junk and making addicts is what that system is all about.

--Eric Holm



## The New Opium War

...The connection between war and opium in Asia is as old as empire itself. But the relationship has never been so symbiotic, so intricate in its networks and so vast in its implications. For the international traffic in opium has expanded in lockstep with the expanding U.S. military presence there, just as heroin has stalked the same young people in U.S. high schools who will also be called on to fight that war. At the very moment that public officials are wringing their hands over the heroin problem, Washington's own Cold War crusade, replete with clandestine activities that would seem far-fetched even in a spy novel, continues to play a major role in a process that has already rerouted the opium traffic from the Middle East to Southeast Asia and is every day opening new channels for its shipment to the U.S. At the same time the government starts crash programs to rehabilitate drug users among its young people, the young soldiers it is sending to Vietnam are getting hooked and dying of overdoses at the rate of one a day. While the President is declaring war on narcotics and crime in the streets, he is widening the war in Laos, whose principal product is opium and which has now become the funnel for nearly half the world's supply of the narcotic, for which the U.S. is the chief consumer.

With gross returns from the Indochinese traffic running anywhere from \$250 to \$500 million per year, opium is one

(continued page 11)



# Dialogue on Electoral Politics



**C.S. interviews**  
**Robin Hunter**  
**&**  
**Frank McCloskey**

*Robin Hunter is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. He has been active in Bloomington politics for the last six years. Here he is interviewed by Rick Guarasci.*

**Common Sense:** Do you think that electoral politics is something that radical socialists should be involved in and why?

**Hunter:** This question has caused a lot of bother among radicals and socialists and people who want to change the system in general because they argue that elections are a rigged game, and when you participate in them as if you have a chance of winning you are simply legitimizing the system which is actually illegitimate, because the people who have the most influence control the media. Of course you can participate in the elections and explain that point and the basic reason I would argue that radicals and particularly socialists should participate in elections, because the elections are already legitimized in the minds of most people and most people are not radicals. Most people think elections are still an effective way of effecting change. It's the responsibility of socialists and people who want radical change to bring that message to those people whose perspective is still within that system, so that when they go and listen to Republicans and Democrats, who both are committed to the capitalist system and apologize for it, they can take an opposite message. They can use the same forum not only to attack the perspectives of the Republicans and Democrats, but put forward an alternative, and to explain that elections are not adequate alone as a method of changing the system, that mass actions, mass demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, etc., are necessary. You can use the elections as a forum, just as on a very modest scale, here, in the student government election, we (YSA) used our election campaign to build the April 24th demonstration. We were able to force every student government candidate to endorse April 24th, and to feign support for the anti-war movement. A minor point, but it can be used. I think as long as the minds of the masses believe that somehow something can come out of the elections, then it's adopting an isolationist and retreatist position for radicals to refuse to participate in elections. We understand that an election is not a total answer, nor is any other single action, a strike or a demonstration a total answer to changing the system.

**C.S.** Obviously, you are opposed to liberal Democratic politics. Can you explain why?

**R.H.:** The Democrats and the Republicans both, but particularly the Democrats, in an age of crisis are attempting to do two things. First of all, draw the radical, discontented and becoming discontented elements, into a program which accepts the existing system, and then to administer the existing system on the basis of political support. The point about growing radicalization is that the movements' demands if they are correctly put (and as they develop anyway) go beyond the bounds of the capitalist system; that black liberation, the demand for the black control of a black community - or women's liberation, the demand for equal pay for equal work, etc. - all cut at necessary forms of oppression in the capitalist system, forms that are necessary to keep the capitalist system running. Likewise the anti-war movement which demands immediate withdrawal cuts beyond the bounds of the capitalist system. Capitalism can't end imper-

ialism because to do so would wipe out the main source of profits for large corporations, and a collapse of capitalism. As a result the Democrats and Republicans have to speak to those issues. Those issues push beyond the Democratic and Republican position, and as a result they can marshal forces which are willing to overthrow (or change significantly) capitalism. (And I think Capitalism will have to be overthrown.) One of the main responsibilities of radicals and socialists is to attack the Democratic and Republican Parties, make it clear to the people who want to end the war, who want to end discrimination against women and blacks, and other minorities and those who want to demand adequate wages for the working class (which is becoming a mass issue also), make it clear to those people that you have to step beyond the framework of capitalism. Of course our main enemies on this question are going to be the Democrats and Republicans, whose main responsibility is to maintain those movements within capitalism and capitalist programs.

**C.S.** It is evident that a large percentage if not a majority of radicals have not come to supporting this type of socialist politics. Could you trace your own intellectual development to this point?

**R.H.:** I have been a Socialist for at least ten years, but I haven't been a radical for that long. I had a sort of Michael Harrington perspective. I thought socialism could be attained strictly within the normal parliamentary process for the "ins" and "outs" of the Democrats and Republicans. I was a socialist democrat. I came to this country and got involved in the anti-war movement and SDS. I began to realize the difference between liberals and radicals. Carl Oglesby's speech at the 1965 march on Washington had a tremendous effect on me. I became not only a socialist but a radical socialist. When SDS split up I began to look seriously at the organizational and programmatic weaknesses of SDS. As a result of that examination I ended up in YSA.

.....

*Frank McCloskey is the Democratic nominee for Mayor of Bloomington. He is also a law student at I.U. and takes a liberal position on electoral politics. He is interviewed by Rick Guarasci and Mike Skirvin. McCloskey's appearance in Common Sense is in no way to be construed as an endorsement.*

**Common Sense:** The whole question of the efficacy of electoral politics on social change has been raised by youth and students in the last two or three years since the McCarthy campaign and I'd like you to respond or, give your reasons why you think electoral politics is important?

**McCloskey:** I think electoral politics is important, per se, because to me this is the most meaningful way in the 1970's that we can effect social change.

I say I'm concerned about Vietnam, and we all are, but I'm not in a position right now to dictate any policy as to Vietnam. On the contrary, I'm working for social change in Bloomington, Indiana, talking to people about things like street lights and sewage systems. I'd like to stress that there are problems in Vietnam, but that there are also problems here and if you can do something for people in Bloomington, that is surely important. If more people do work within the political



COMMON SENSE hopes to initiate extended dialogue with the publication of this exchange between a socialist viewpoint and a liberal democratic position on the question of electoral politics. Most of the collective are more in agreement with Hunter than McCloskey; however, we have principled differences with Hunter's position which we hope to expand upon in forthcoming issues. We welcome and encourage reader response on this question; send in your comments and analysis no matter which position you support.

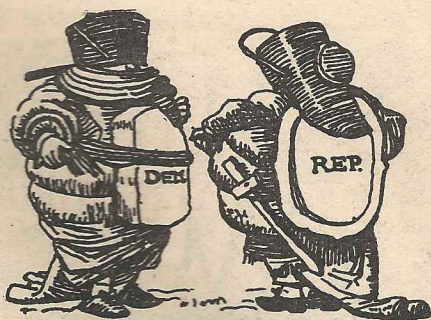
system, rather than be just occasionally involved on romantic issues, we'll have qualitative, substantial social change in the near future.

**Common Sense:** The argument is made by people on the left that you can get involved with the Democratic Party, but you're thrown into the same pot with the people who are primarily responsible for the problems you're trying to solve. Therefore, your effect on them will be minimal. How would you respond to this?

**McCloskey:** I think that this is a manifestation of a larger problem that everybody has, on the left and on the right, of dealing in terms of stereotypes. Those stereotypes have their place, but often they're just not true. One of the best examples I can give is to bring up a rather prominent Republican, J. Irwin Miller. He is a capitalist who is very concerned with the social gospel that the American government in the 1970-80's responds to the needs of the people. He's an example of an industrialist who is doing more for society than so many liberal Democrats or leftists who either stay out of politics or bemoan that they are corrupt.

I think more people of all economic walks of life are realizing that our problems are not necessarily always conflicting, though sometimes they are. And I think more people are realizing that time is short and it's time for people to get together and work.

We do have something called the Constitution which, properly interpreted, I must say I adhere to. I think it's a very meaningful document. It says we have freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom to chart our own lives. I think more and more people are on to this, that the political system does provide an alternative for creative change. And this is not a brief for the Democratic Party. When it does not respond,

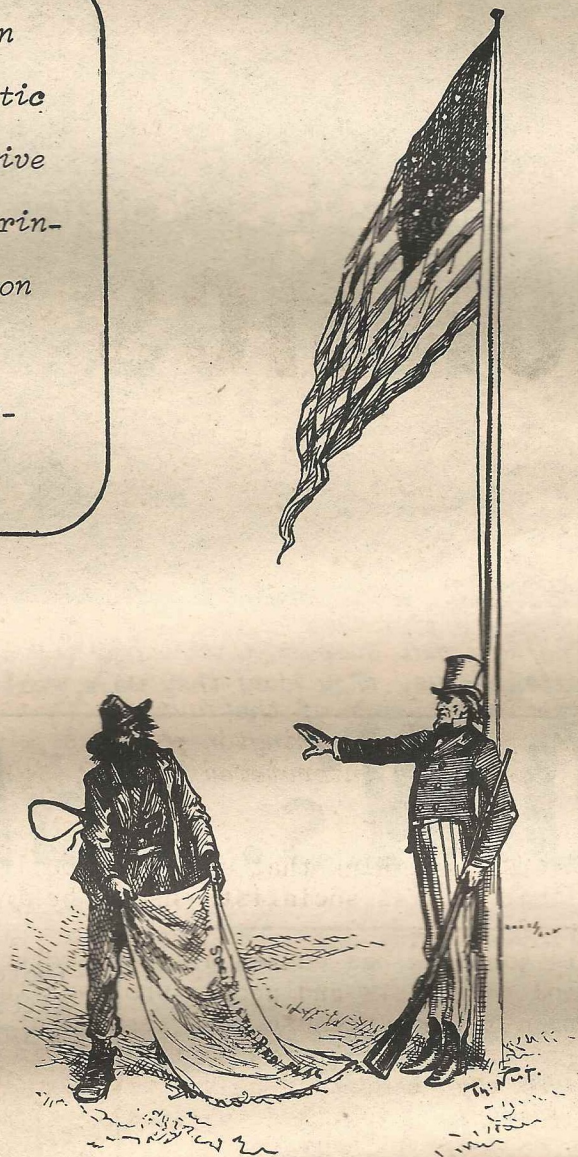


it will go the way of all political organizations that do not respond to the needs of the people. My main concern is that we do have meaningful, progressive change and that we do have it soon.

**Common Sense:** More specifically, then, what kind of changes would you want to bring about in Bloomington?

**McCloskey:** Well, you can speak of this on two levels.

You can speak of it on a symbolic basis and you can speak of it on a program or governmental function basis. On a symbolic basis, I think that the mayor and the Common Council can be very important links in the so-called town-gown split, the student/town-people type confrontation. This has been a moderate problem here, on the other hand, there is antagonism. A city administration that realizes that the campus community is a major and creative part of their constituency can do much.



A WARNING IN TIME  
UNCLE SAM. "Ours is a large country, but there is room in it for only one flag."

On a program basis, there is much that is going to have to be done. The present city administration has been talking about it for years, but we have never gone to the trouble of recruiting a really first rate city planner, on a national basis. And, I do notice that the College Mall by-pass problem is not only bad when you're sitting there, but it has received recognition as one of the most ill-advised planning fiascos in the nation. I think that the next city administration will be very concerned with getting a full-time city planner here.

I'm concerned that we do not have a bus service. The elderly on the west side, housewives on the east side want bus service, and I know what it can mean to a student to have something that will leave the periphery of campus in a routine and regular fashion. I'm going out on the line saying we are going to have a bus service, if we have to have a smaller one to start with, working into a federal program.

A major problem in Bloomington is that one of the reasons that our tax base is weak is that there are numerous major urban pockets of non-city tax base property that are totally surrounded by city tax base land. We are talking about probably more than a million, maybe much more than that, a year in city revenue. You can begin talking about city services when you're talking about having a viable, immediate city annexation program of what is, basically, undisputed Bloomington territory. Certain industrialists will fight tooth and nail to see that they can avoid taxes. In the event of the failure of cooperation there will have to be legal action.

**Common Sense:** A less visible problem in Bloomington is racism. A lot of people, particularly Black students, feel that it is as strong, if not stronger, than in some southern cities. What sort of educational and concrete changes would you envision for Bloomington?

**McCloskey:** I would like to say that I don't envision the present city administration as racist. This administration has, behind the scenes, worked to reconcile various problems. On the other hand, I do think it is time for city government to serve more of an educational function in this area. If you run up against a particular problem which is not susceptible to quiet coordination or resolution, I think it's incumbent on the mayor, on the city administration, to go to bat for social justice.





Imprisoned in the D.C. Arena, May 3 & 4

MAYDAY-- Concentration Camp  
The National Guardsmen were beautiful. Even though it looked as though they were on the outside watching us, they knew they were really on the inside, too. They said so. They were with us.

# P.O.W.'s... all of us

--Joe Lomax

(Note: This was written in a D.C. jail after the attempt Monday morning, 5/3/71, to block traffic.)

Approximately 900 people, male and female, are being held here with no word at all from anybody. The cells are approximately 30' by 70'. There are about 250 people per cell, which means that there is just barely enough room for everyone to sit down.

Any time any singing, chanting, yelling, or stomping begins-- gas is injected in a ventilation lower. The gas causes sneezing, sinus congestion, headaches, and drowsiness. Someone with a broken arm is shaking with pain. Overhead, the fluorescent lights obliterate all shadows, bathing everyone in a ghastly, sterile light. All there is to see is bodies bodies, bodies. And institutional yellow glossy bricks.

Now and then a cop walks down the hall on the other side of the bars. The yelling starts again. He says nothing. What is there to say? Here we are wedged between bars and bricks. Helpless; at the mercy of the courts, the Shylock bondsmen, the D.C. police force.

There is nothing to do but wait. Wait for-- Who knows? Wait to be charged, wait to be fingerprinted, wait to be taken to court, wait to be fed, wait for the sake of waiting.

At certain places where the glare isn't too bad on the walls you can read the graffiti:

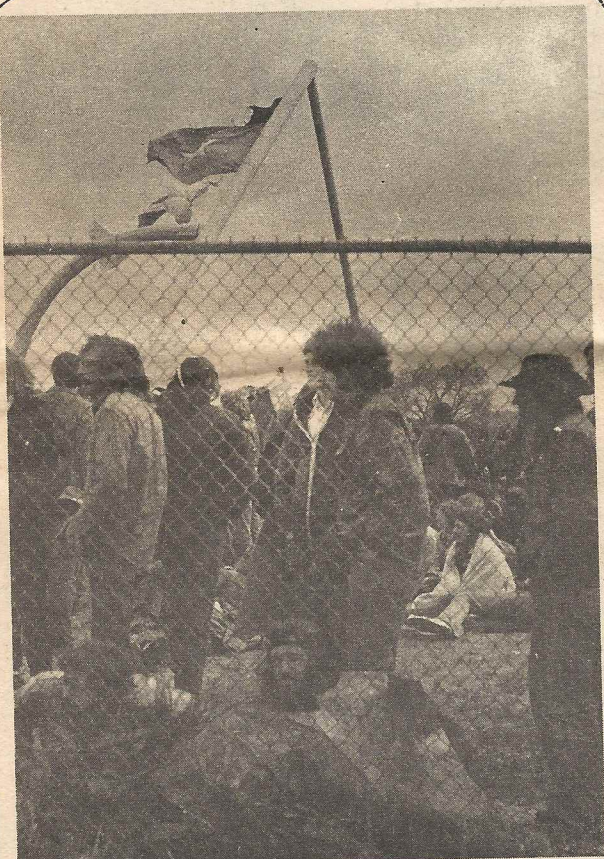
Brother Power is Stronger than Pig Power.

Credit card FBI Ann Arbor 622-2597-083-N.

Freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose

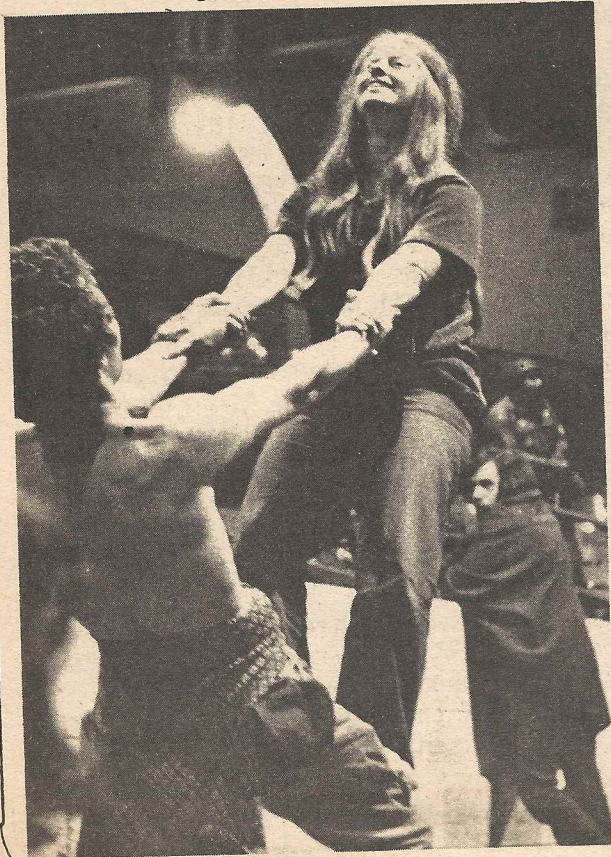
Free 10,000,000 Vietnamese.  
The raging tide against the US aggressor is irreversible.

Then there is the empty, hollow feeling. The government has the police power to put away massive numbers of people in jail for any reason. Maybe civil disobedience actions such as MayDay are really pointless. But a glimmer of blind hope remains. A glimmer of hope that the most destructive government of all time will sometime be forced to respond to the outcry of citizens.

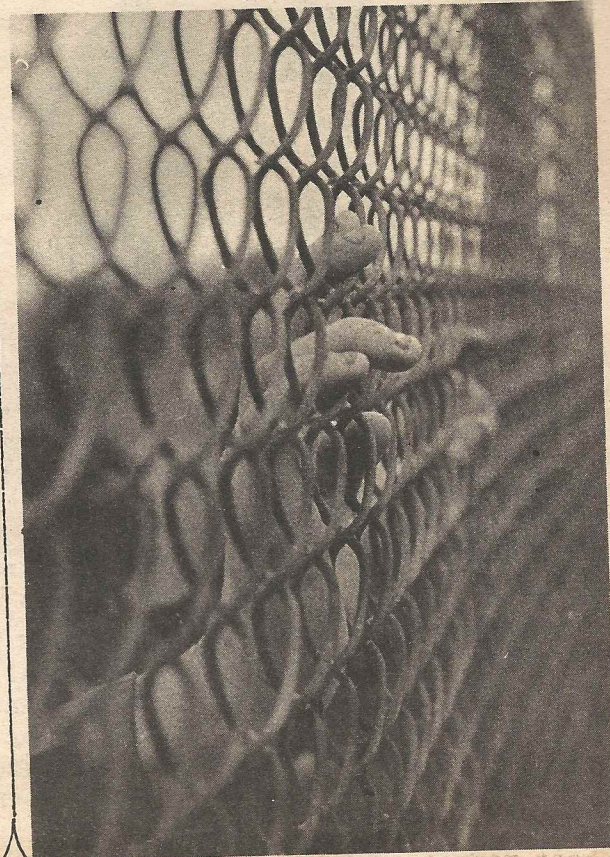


above-- concentration camp MAYDAY

below-- fingers at the fence  
concentration camp MAYDAY



above-- concentration camp MAYDAY



below-- the D.C. Arena

Photo essay by  
Robin Conway and  
David Stalf





# im·pêr'i·əl·iz'm

loosely, any behavior (or instance of behavior) involving the imposition of forces from one country upon the people of another. More specifically, a system in which such imposition is based upon an imperative of unlimited geographical scope, originating within the powerful country. The imposition itself may rest on a variety of mechanisms, of which *colonialism*-- i.e., direct conquest and imperial rule-- is only one. Victor Wallis, *Language of Politics & Politics of Language*

## WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

Following is an edited version of a review of a new book by Felix Greene, *The Enemy: What Every American Should Know About Imperialism* (Random House, 1971). It was written by the Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett and appeared originally in a recent issue of the *Guardian*.

In *The Enemy*, the well-known English writer and filmmaker, Felix Greene, makes an almost surgical dissection of the anatomy of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, its aims and methods. He also has some original things to say about its cure-- amputation by revolution.

Written with a complete absence of jargon, but calling things by their right names, Greene has produced a very readable, highly instructive book for the non-specialist, one which the "specialist" will have great difficulty in refuting; a book that should be a "must" for lecturers and discussion groups.

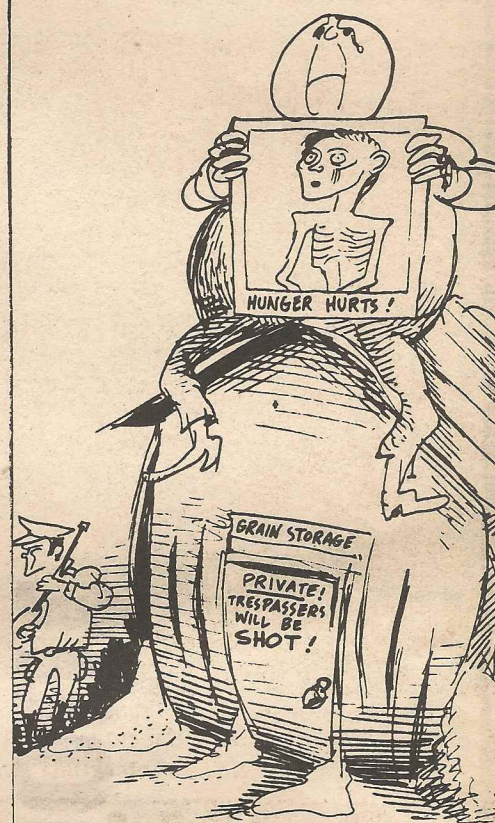
A point which he hammers away at is that U.S. imperialism-- as British imperialism in its day-- is as brutal an exploiter, as inveterate enemy of its own people as those it oppresses and exploits overseas, even if the methods used are different. He shows convincingly that everything in America from erosion to pollution to bad housing and racism and every ill in between, springs from U.S. imperialism as the highest form of capitalism.

A brief preliminary section deals with "The Face of Capitalism"-- and an ugly face it is, as Greene presents it. The ruthless destruction of natural resources in the greedy search for profits; hundreds of millions of acres of cropland from which the topsoil has disappeared forever (Greene points out that it took nature from 300 to 1000 years to create one inch of topsoil in which plantlife can live); of 2 million acres of giant redwoods along the Pacific Coast, with three hundred thousand acres left; 85% of wild life and 80% of forests killed off; almost every river and lake polluted and facing the fate of Lake Erie, "now almost without fish life due to the huge quantities of sewage dumped into it from Detroit and other cities."

As for medical care after 25 years of "unparalleled prosperity," Greene produces evidence that: (1) Half of all U.S. children under 15 have never visited a dentist; (2) 11 million children between 15 and 17 have eye disorders that need attention; (3) two million children have untreated hearing defects; (4) Nearly 3 million children have untreated speech disorders; (5) Untreated emotional disturbances affect some 4,600,000 children; (6) 2 million children have untreated orthopaedic problems.

In tracing the history of British imperialism, Greene points out that to create the empire over which "the sun never set," Britain fought 28 colonial wars between 1814 and 1906. "There were only 15 years in that century when Britain was not engaged in some bloody military struggle," he points out. "So much for 'Pax Britannica'!"

The United States went in for imperialism for the same reason as the British. Productive capacity, in accordance with the law of surplus value, exceeded the purchasing power of the home market. Outside markets were needed; cheap labor power also. Above all, surplus capital, swelling the bank accounts from the surplus value sweated out of the hides of American workers, brought greater profits, "super-profits" when invested abroad on terms which an imperialist power could dictate. The export of capital, that most lucrative of all exports, could be indulged in without physical possession of the target countries.



With professional skill and in great detail, Greene traces the process. "Colonialism is not the only form of imperialism" he points out, answering protests of the naive: "Just show us on a map, where this so-called American empire is!" And he continues: "Colonialism is only one method by which such (economic) exploitation is achieved. Britain herself learned that it wasn't always necessary to set up formal colonial rule... It was often cheaper and politically less troublesome not to. There were countries in South America-- never a part of the British Empire-- over which Britain exercised enormous control through finance and commerce. Today the U.S. exercises this influence..." And how!

In the old days in China, it was Christian missionaries who acted as the spearhead. There was a rough rule of first generation, missionaries; second generation, traders; third generation, State Department officials. But a big gap has been jumped. The new missionaries of AID, as Greene shows, do the whole job in years instead of generations. In the old days it was glass beads and tomahawks against pelts, then the expropriation of the hunting grounds and the extermination of the pelt-hunters. Today, Greene shows with a wealth of facts and figures, the underdeveloped country that accepts U.S. "aid" is done for as surely as the naive Indian traders. Aid and the missions that peddle it represent a noose around the receiving country.

Greene quotes the *Economist* (London) to the effect that excluding oil-rich Venezuela, if purchasing power of the rest of Latin America stood at 100 in 1929, by 1965 it had dropped to 32. And the process has continued. Add to this the devaluation of local currencies which the U.S. regularly imposes as a condition for further loans and you have a situation of which as Greene states: "The eyes of the old pirates would boggle, they would be drunk at the thought of the riches, the billions of dollars that all the devices of imperialism from 'aid' to devaluation have brought to the giant corporations..." On the face of it the monopolies cannot lose. If things go wrong, the taxpayers bail them out in the name of part of the essential price to keep the "free world" free. If things go right, investments in industry in countries of low-living standards abroad, represent a depressive element on U.S. workers' standards at home.

"But Washington is playing a losing game," says Greene. "Its support of Chiang Kai-Shek was a losing game, as was the Bay of Pigs and, of course, the costliest losing game of all, Vietnam. It will be a long and bloody struggle. There will be local victories for the elite (Greene explains earlier that it is only the upper class elite which solicit and benefit from U.S. 'aid', mainly to keep themselves in power.) and the foreign investors; and for the military and the CIA. A military coup here, some effective bribery there, the landing of Marines in some other place, assassinations, imprisonment, torture. All in the name of 'freedom'. But in the long run it will not work, for the exploited people of the world will not let it work. How many more Vietnams can America handle, when she cannot even cope successfully with one? The American Empire and all the lesser empires which it supports, are now at last on the losing side.

As to how imperialism is to be defeated, Greene is categorical-- by revolution and seizure of power by the working class for the first time in history in an advanced industrial state. Obviously he does not have an exact formula

(Continued on page 10)



# We have something to teach Americans about handling civil dissent

## They are at it again.

This time, May 25-28, in Indianapolis, the professional protesters are planning to kick mud in the face of three of America's most loyal allies: Greece, Spain, and Portugal.

In the guise of protesting "repressive military regimes," this vocal minority will assemble in President Nixon's model city to decry the North Atlantic Treaty Organization conference on cities.

They don't know what they're talking about. We do. We run the governments of America's staunchest Free World allies: Greece, Spain, and Portugal.

We have something to teach Americans about handling civil dissent and violence. In fact we already share our knowledge freely with Americans, and learn from them, though the American public isn't generally aware of that. We have learned much from American police and military advisors: new techniques, and the use of sophisticated equipment for crowd control, electronic surveillance, and interrogation of suspects. We prize our close working relationships with Americans. For example, the Greek KIP (secret police) shares the same office in Athens with the CIA.

refight the Civil War in which General Franco, supported by two governments which saw the need for law and order--Mussolini's and Hitler's--won. And there are those misguided Americans such as the United Presbyterian Church who attempt to attack Portugal's stability by bringing pressure on Guld Oil which supports Portuguese colonial policies in Angola.

Americans are sophisticated enough now to see that the military and foreign aid we receive from the United States, particularly through the NATO alliance, is not and never has been designed to give us the ability to fight *external* communist aggression. For that protection we must rely on the nuclear and missile superiority of America. The spectre of Soviet Communism was useful in the post World War II "Cold War" days when the American public was eager to stop Soviet aggression but reluctant to support governments not so threatened. But now Americans can see that it is in their vital interests to maintain *internal* stability in foreign allies in order to protect foreign investments. This is one of the main reasons for having a NATO conference on cities, for maintaining control of our cities is crucial to stability in an increas-





But, more importantly, our governments don't have to work under the burden of a judicial system more interested in abstract "justice" than adherence to the law, or media who violence-bait the police, or sentimentalist liberals who think "civil liberties" are more important than civil order, and business as usual. Thus we are free to show Americans how to deal with dissidents in an efficient way. We are proud that some of the techniques developed in our countries were used by police and military forces in the recent Washington demonstrations.

Many Americans have a distorted picture of our Greece because of the recent movie "Z", and the publicity given to hypothetical exiles such as Melina Mercouri. If actress Mercouri is really so upset with her exile, why doesn't she attack the American government which keeps the junta in power, and the American corporations which keep the economy humming? Similarly with Spain: there are still those romantics around who would like to

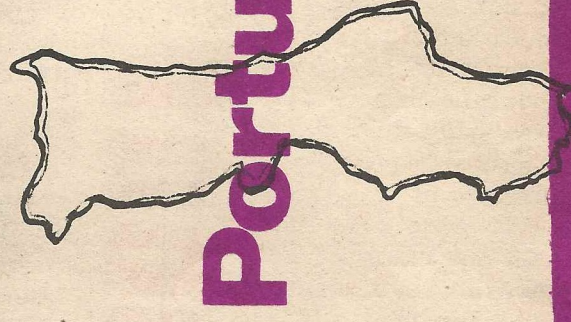
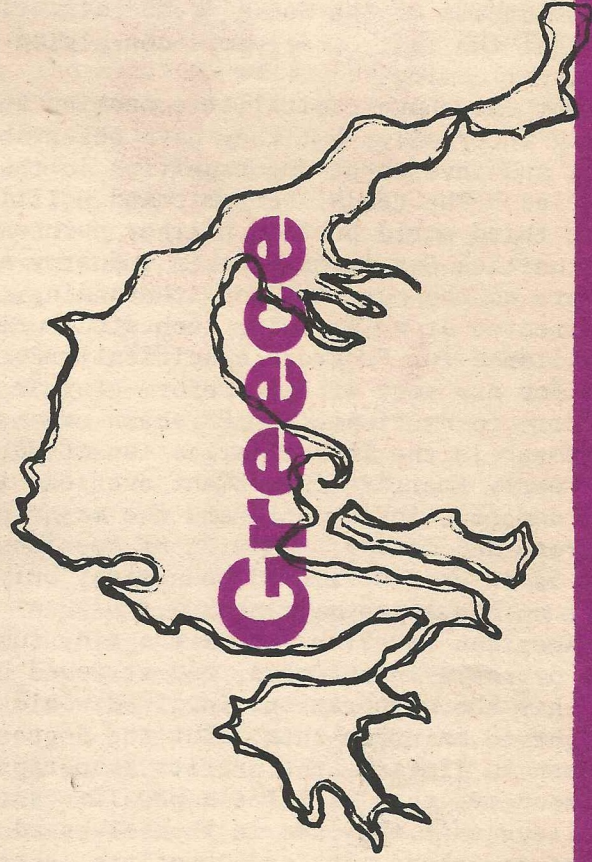
ingly industrial and urban situation. That's why we have something to teach Americans about dealing with dissenters who agitate about poverty, minority groups, housing, pollution, schools, recreational facilities, transportation, inflation, unemployment, wage discrimination, etc. We've taken the gloves off and maintained the status quo. And we're proud to see that during the recent Washington "peace" demonstrations, the American government did everything in its power to maintain "business as usual."

Attacking the NATO Cities Conference is not merely an attack on our governments, it is an attack on American business abroad. We are sure that Americans will see this connection and understand that in dealing with vocal agitators the Indianapolis police will be protecting, not merely civil order, but American corporations as well.

PUBLISHED AS A PUBLIC SERVICE BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

May 25 - 28, Indianapolis

# America's Best Free World Allies





# WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?cont.

as to how this can be brought about. But he believes a start must be made by a revolution within the consciousness of those who work for the revolution. "A viable and lasting revolution," he writes, "requires both the o-

verthrow of the external social order and a continuing revolution within the mind of the man himself." And in another passage: "Revolution, we must say it again, is a process, not an event. It may take decades to fulfill. Revolutionary theory does not arise spontaneously from crowds marching down Fifth Ave. or gathering in Trafalgar Square or at the Odeon. Nor does it come from the mindless repetition of slogans, however revolutionary. The generation that finally seizes power may appear to have started the revolution, but they are only completing what was done over years and years of much less dramatic work.

Revolution... involves years of careful work and thought and organization. It involves patience to await the right moment and to work for the hastening of that right moment.

*revolution:* a transformation involving large numbers of people over a relatively short period of time and resulting in a fundamental change in the ruling interests of society (most characteristically, the replacement of one socio-economic system and dominant class by another). Such transformations may or may not be accompanied by widespread violence. The extent of any violence will normally depend upon a combination of two factors. On the one hand, the degree of violence will *decrease* as the breadth of active support for the transformation increases. On the other hand, the degree of violence will *increase* insofar as the opponents of the transformation resort to large-scale repression (which may involve anything from police surveillance and denial of civil rights, all the way up to the slaughter of entire populations).

It is only when a whole complex of contradictory historical forces have ripened and created a state of supreme crisis that those who have prepared themselves can seize the opportunity and act decisively. Only at such moments and with

such preparation can the course of history be changed."

It is difficult to do justice to the richness of analysis and ideas in this book. On the title page, Felix Greene recalls a quote Mao Tse Tung used from an ancient Chinese military scientist: "Know the enemy and know yourself; a hundred battles, a hundred victories." The greatest merit of Greene's book is that it provides an understanding of the enemy, unique in its depth and breadth and the originality of its presentation.

*"When a government puts forth its strength on the side of injustice it is foredoomed to fall. When it depends for 'law and order' upon the militia and the police, its mission in the world is nearly finished."* --Helen Keller

## Four Theories of IMPERIALISM

"Four Theories of Imperialism" from SCARCE RESOURCES: The Dynamic of American Imperialism, by Heather Dean, 1966.

### Lenin's:

Lenin wrote at a time when domestic markets in Europe were saturated, leading him to predict that the industrialized countries would war among themselves for overseas outlets for investment capital and for overseas markets. The Social Democrats argued that alternative solutions would be found-- the crisis of "overproduction" would be ended by increasing domestic demand by wage increases, welfare payments, etc. Lenin dismissed with two words (under capitalism) this notion that the greedy capitalists would give the workers money.

However, the development of capitalist economies has shown an almost limitless capacity for internal expansion. Legalized unions, welfare, public works, defense spending, planned obsolescence, space programs, consumer credit, ad-created markets and fad spending-- techniques beyond the wildest dreams of the Social Democrats-- lead one to suspect that the last cataclysmic convulsion of capitalism just isn't coming.

Not only have capitalist economies succeeded in expanding internally, but they have observably *not* exploited market and investment opportunities in the underdeveloped countries. The feudal economic and political structures of the third world provide neither purchasing power nor opportunities for investment in industry and, liberal disclaimers to the contrary notwithstanding, American policies are directed at maintaining such structures. (For example, the Alliance for Progress specifically forbids use of its funds for any sort of land reform program.) There has been no effort to duplicate the European expansion sparked by investment in the industrialization of North America.

Yearly American investment overseas is approximately 5% of domestic investment, and the major part of that is in Europe and Canada. Only 2% of American overseas investments is in underdeveloped countries; only a negligible amount on the Asian mainland.

American investors do make a tidy sum each year on their overseas investments, and it would be naive to suppose that the corporations involved would be too altruistic to fight to maintain them. But the degree of expansion has been so limited, the profits so peripheral to the American economy, that it takes a peculiar sort of demonology to believe that they are in themselves adequate justification of the three wars and countless lesser military actions by which the United States has gained and maintained control of the Third World.

### Neo-Marxist:

Some modern Marxists argue that America's overseas

investments are indeed negligible to the survival of the American economy, but that the domestic economic effects of imperial wars are crucial. The figures lend more weight to this argument. American investments in her domestic war industries each year are more than 60 times her investments in underdeveloped countries.

However, there is nothing magical about the kind of economic waste implied in needless war spending. Other forms of waste such as space programs are equally effective sources of investment, and many other forms would be easier to sell politically than wars against fictitious invaders.

### Liberal:

In response to this sort of argument, the majority of the American liberal-left denies that the Marxist theories of imperialism explain American foreign policy today, although they credit it (when they know at all) with some degree of accuracy in interpreting the earlier part of the century. Their most common explanation of the American domination of Asia, Africa and Latin America suggests there is *no* rational motive for it. Imperialism belongs to America's economic past; however, the ideology and bureaucracy that supported these outdated interests have a blind momentum of their own that has made them endure beyond their moment in history.

This understanding leads to a politics of petition-- the Quaker "Speak Truth to Power" approach. Its analysis of American power is filled with words like "irrational fear," "blunder," "paranoia," "fixation." So the solution is seen in effecting a change in the personal qualities of the men at the helm, running peace candidates or helping those in power see the illogic of "the system in which they are trapped."

### Scarce Resources:

The premise is that American policy is rational and successful. It may not be directed at *our* goals, but it is goal-directed, and the goals are not anachronisms of the American system but are essential to the maintenance of existing power relations. I have looked for this motive in that aspect of imperialism that is usually footnoted in considerations of the American economic influence in the Third World-- the massive extraction of raw materials.

While not denying the existence of other economic motivations which are stressed by the Marxist left, I would argue that they are secondary to the total dependency of American production on foreign resources, that this dependency is sufficient in itself to explain US policy, and that it leads to a fundamental conflict between the survival of the American economy in its present form and the drive for development in the Third World.



## OPIUM Cont'd

of the kingpins of Southeast Asian commerce. Indochina has not always had such an enviable position. Historically most of the world's supply of opium and heroin came through well-established routes from Turkey, Iran, and China. The Mediterranean trade was controlled by the Corsican Mafia (which itself has been long related to such American crime lords as Lucky Luciano, who funneled a certain amount of dope into the black ghettos). But... according to the United Nations Commission on Drugs and Narcotics, since at least 1966 80 percent of the world's 1200 tons of illicit opium has come from Southeast Asia--directly contradicting most official U.S. claims that the primary sources are Middle Eastern. In 1966 Interpol's former Secretary General Jean Nepote told investigators from the Arthur D. Little Research Institute (then under contract from the U.S. Government Crime Commission) that the Fertile Triangle was a principal production center of opium.

Most of the opium in Southeast Asia is grown in a region known as the "Fertile Triangle," an area covering northwestern Burma, northern Thailand, and Laos. (see map above). The source of the opium is the poppy, and the main growers are the Meo hill tribespeople who inhabit the region....

The major source of the opium in Laos has always been the Meo growers, who were selected by the CIA as its counterinsurgency bulwark against the Pathet Lao guerrillas. The Meos' mountain bastion is Long Cheng, a secret base 80 miles northeast of Vientiane, built by the CIA during the 1962 Geneva Accords period. In 1964 Long Cheng's population was nearly 50,000, comprised largely of refugees who had come to escape the war and who were kept busy growing poppies in the hills surrounding the base.

For some time, the primary middle-men in the opium traffic had been elements of the Corsican Mafia, identified in a 1966 United Nations report as a pivotal organization in the flow of narcotics. In a part of the world where transportation is a major problem and where air transport is a solution, the Corsicans were able to parlay their vintage World War II airplanes (called "the butterfly fleet" or, according to "Pop" Buell, U.S. citizen-at-large in the area, "Air Opium") into a position of control. But as the Laotian civil war intensified in the period following 1963, it became increasingly difficult for the Corsicans to operate, and the Meos started to have trouble getting their crop out of the hills in safety.

The vacuum that was created was quickly filled by the Royal Lao Air Force, which began to use helicopters and planes donated by the U.S. not only for fighting the Pathet Lao but also for flying opium out from airstrips pockmarking the Laotian hills. This arrangement was politically more advantageous than prior ones, for it consolidated the interests of all the anti-communist parties.

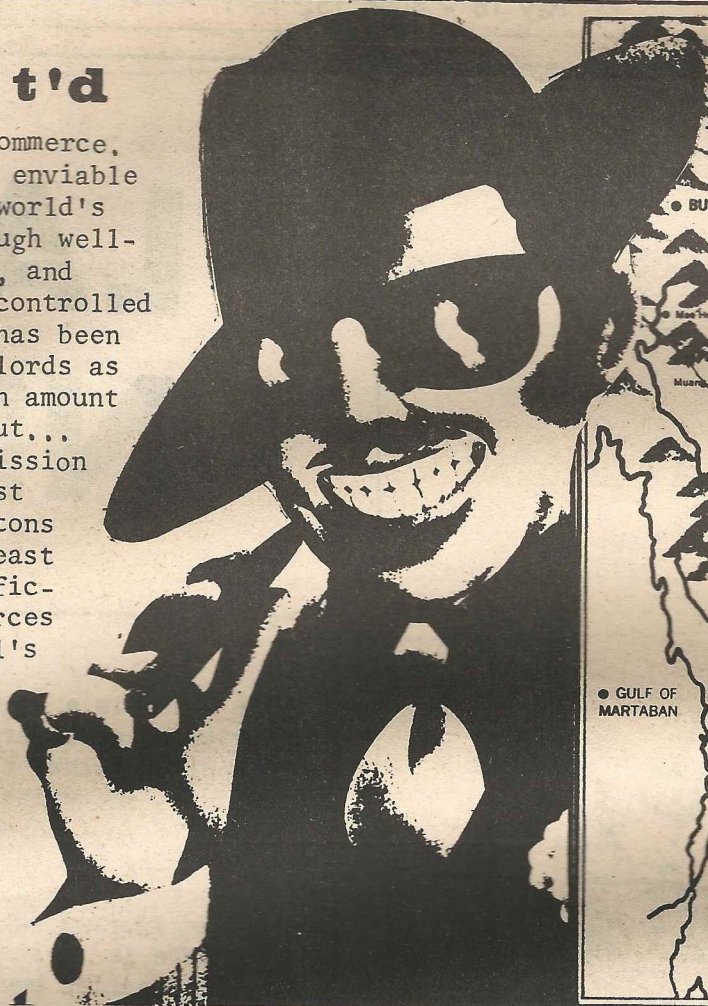
As this relationship has matured, Long Cheng has become a major collection point for opium grown in Laos. CIA protege General Vang Pao, former officer for the French colonial army and now head of the Meo counterinsurgents, uses his U.S.-supplied helicopters and STOL (short-take-off-and-landing) aircraft to collect the opium from the surrounding area....

...The rout from Laos to Saigon has long been one of the well-established trails of the heroin-opium trade. The dope-running planes usually land at Tan Son Nhut airbase, where they are met in a remote part of the airport with the protection of airport police.

A considerable part of the opium and heroin remains in Saigon, where it is sold directly to U.S. troops or distributed to U.S. bases throughout the Vietnamese countryside.... (Ed. note: large portions of the section documenting the involvement of Nhu, Ky, and other U.S. puppets in the opium trade must be summarized crudely here).

...But Saigon's opium trade is not new.... At what particular point in time Ky became involved with the Nhuses is not known, but by the end of the '50s he was cutting quite a figure in Saigon's elite circles.... When Ky came into power in February 1965, most observers supposed he had relinquished participation in the opium traffic (although it was "common knowledge" that Madame Ky had replaced Madame Nhu as Saigon's Dragon Lady and dealt in opium directly with Prince Boun Oum in Southern Laos).

...though it may seem to be an amazing oversight, ...Rich-



ard Nixon and the makers of America's Asian policy have completely blanked Indochina out of the world narcotics trade. Not even Joe Stalin's removal of Trotsky from the Russian history books parallels this historical reconstruction. In his recent State of the World address, Richard Nixon dealt directly with the international narcotics traffic. "Narcotics addiction has been spreading with pandemic virulence," he said, adding that "this affliction is spreading rapidly and without the slightest respect for national boundaries." What is needed is "an integrated attack on the demand for [narcotics], the supply of them, and their movement across international borders.... We have," he says, "worked closely with a large number of governments, particularly Turkey, France, and Mexico, to try to stop the illicit production and smuggling of narcotics." (authors' emphasis)

It is no accident that Nixon has ignored the real sources of narcotics trade abroad and by so doing has effectively precluded any possibility of being able to deal with heroin at home.... For Richard Nixon's rise to power has been intricately interwoven with the rise of proponents of America's aggressive strategy in Asia, a group of people loosely called the "China Lobby" who have been in or near political power off and on since 1950. (Prominent members of the China Lobby include Mme. Anna Chennault, columnist Joe Alsop, J. Edgar Hoover, Ray Cline (State Dept. Chief of Intelligence), and other proponents of Nationalist China). ...The entire cast of the China Lobby has relied on one corporation, the same corporation established just after World War II by General Clair Chennault as Civil Air Transport and renamed in the 1950's Air America. Carrier not only of men and personnel for all of Southeast Asia, but also of the policies that have turned Indochina into the third bloodiest battlefield in American history, Air America's chief contract is with the American CIA.... Air America flies through all of the Laotian and Vietnamese opium pick-up points, for aside from the private "butterfly fleet" and various military transports, Air America is the "official" Indochina Airline. A 25-year old black man recently returned from Indochina told Ramparts of going to Vietnam in late 1968 as an adventurer, hoping to get in on the dope business. But he found that the business was all controlled by a "group like the Mafia. It was tight..." The only way he could make it in the dope trade, he says, was to go to work for Air America as a mechanic. He found there was "plenty of dope in Laos--lots of crystals [heroin] all over the place." Air America was the only way to get in on it.

...the opium trade has been systematized, giving the U.S. technological expertise and a shipping and transportation network as pervasive as the U.S. presence itself. The piratical Corsican transporters have been replaced by pragmatic technocrats carrying out their jobs with deadly accuracy. Unimpeded by boundaries, scruples or customs agents, and nurtured by the free flow of military personnel through the capitals of the Orient, the United States has...built up a support system for the trade in narcotics that is unparalleled in modern history.

--Frank Browning and Banning Garrett







# LABOR NEWS

"Labor News" is a regular feature of Common Sense. We will give broad coverage to the struggles of all working people, whether they work in quarries or headshops, electronics factories or education factories, organized or not. If your boss fired you for being pregnant and you're taking him to court; if your union is striking for better wages and working conditions; if your union is not delivering what the rank-and-file want; if the legislature is in session; if you have been subjected to discrimination because of your race, sex, religion or politics or lifestyle; if you are trying to organize employees of a non-union shop, etc., call your story in to us at 336-0708, send copy and photos to us at PO BOX 1335, or drop by our office at 809 East 8th. St., Blgtn.

## RCA GET-A-WAY

--Eric Holm

For people who are job-hunting, the exciting news is that Bloomington's RCA plant is taking on new employee's at a fantastic rate. According to IBEW Local 1424 spokesman Lou Watson, in the last six months RCA has expanded its work force from 3,100 to over 5,100 and is still hiring. The increase occurred after RCA closed down a large plant in Memphis and moved much of its black-and-white set production equipment to Bloomington. Two production lines are now turning out about 2,000 black-and-white sets per day. What few in Bloomington realize is that the RCA plant in Bloomington may be threatened with the same fate that overtook the one in Memphis.

According to an article by Mike Welsh, in World Magazine, RCA is in the process of "switching all its black-and-white TV production to Taiwan. Taiwan's economic attache to the U.S., Douglas Hu, told a Memphis newspaper, 'I think...the major attraction of Taiwan to American manufacturers is low wages.'" Hu boasted that RCA will find a plentiful supply of easily trained workers willing to assemble television sets for \$2.50 per day. [Current hourly rates at Bloomington RCA run from \$2.47 top for light assembly to \$2.67 top for heavy assembly, on an hourly basis.]

According to Welsh's article, which drew heavily on Memphis newspaper sources, "On October 23, 1970, Frank McCann, manager of news and information for RCA Indianapolis, said that equipment had been taken out of the Memphis plant for over a year and installed in the Taiwan operation. He also said that a number of key executives and engineers had been transferred there from Memphis. On December 10, he denied that this was the reason for the shut down."

However, between October and the upcoming official shut down of the Memphis plant on the 19th of this month, the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) fought a losing battle to get RCA to admit to the basic causes of the shut down. IUE-RCA Conference Board Chairman Dan Arnold charged that "Once again, we have seen American workers sold down the river by a profit-hungry, multinational corporation bent on making a fast buck by going wherever it can to exploit cheap labor."

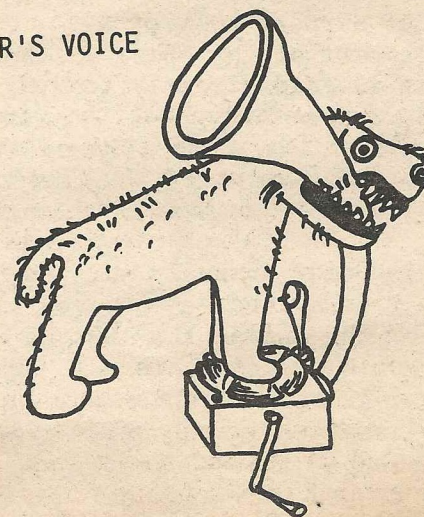
Although the AFL-CIO (of which Local 1424 is a subsidiary) has been hampered by its support of Nixon's foreign policy from fighting the multinational corporation's style of union busting, the national IUE has made strong efforts to inform the rank-and-file of the in-

creasing threat to U.S. workers of competition by unorganized foreign labor. "U.S. companies have been fleeing to South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong where they pay wages as low as 10-20 cents an hour; to Mexico where they pay as little as 30 cents an hour; to Japan where wages and fringe benefits total \$1.00 an hour; and to...Europe where they pay much less than in the U.S."

The closing of the Memphis plant has been a temporary godsend to Bloomington. But the news from Memphis does not encourage long-term optimism about RCA's generosity to Bloomington workers.

According to Memphis sources, "RCA made no provisions for its workers after the closing. They receive no severance pay. The company promised to set up a replacement service to help the laid-off workers find new jobs; nothing has ever come of this promise. RCA even terminated most of the employees before Christmas and the rest before New Year's to avoid giving them their holiday pay. RCA operated a company store in Memphis where workers could buy RCA products at a slight discount. Now the company doesn't want to let its former workers continue to pay off their purchases on the installment plan and is demanding payment in full."

HIS MASTER'S VOICE





# THE SCAB

--Jack London

After God had finished the rattlesnake, the toad and the vampire, he had some awful substance left with which he made a Strikebreaker. A strikebreaker is a two-legged animal with a cork-screw soul, a water logged brain, and a combination backbone made of jelly and glue. Where others have hearts, he carries a tumor of rotten principals.

When a strikebreaker comes down the street men turn their backs and angels weep in heaven, and the devil shuts the gates of Hell to keep him out. No man has the right to be a strikebreaker, so long as there is a pool of water deep enough to drown his body in, or a rope long enough to hang his carcass with. Judas Iscariot was a gentleman compared with a Strikebreaker. For betraying his master, he had the character to hang himself...a Strikebreaker hasn't.

Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. Judas Iscariot sold his Savior for thirty pieces of silver. Benedict Arnold sold his country for a promise of a commission in the British



Army. The modern Strikebreaker sells his birthright, his country, his wife, his children, and his fellow men for an unfilled promise from his employer, trust or corporation.

Esau was a traitor to himself. Judas Iscariot was a traitor to his God.

Benedict Arnold was a traitor to his country. A Strikebreaker is a traitor to himself, a traitor to his God, a traitor to his country, a traitor to his family and a traitor to his class.

There is nothing lower than a Strikebreaker.

## the pro-war coalition

"The streets of our country are in turmoil. The universities are filled with students rebelling and rioting. Communists are seeking to destroy our country. Russia is threatening us with her might. The Republic is in danger. Yes, danger from within and without. We need law and order. Yes, without law and order our nation cannot survive. . . We shall restore law and order."

--ADOLF HITLER

\* \* \* \* \*

*The following article is reprinted from "Report to the Membership, Local 1814, International Longshoreman's Association, Brooklyn." It was written by that union's President, Anthony Scotto, in response to the above quotation printed in The Brooklyn Longshoreman and comments it received from members of the union.*

Hitler's fiery words, spoken 36 years ago, hold meaning for us today because, in the eloquent phrase of philosopher George Santayana, "Those who do not remember the past are doomed to relive it."

A new anti-democratic and pro-war coalition is taking shape in our country. It aims to halt progress at home and to prolong war abroad. It can only succeed, however, if it is able to pull the wool over our eyes. If would-be dictators can fool most of the people most of the time, they will be free to rig things to suit themselves. Luckily, though, the average American thinks and speaks independently; most of us know that this country was founded for the benefit not of the select few, but of the millions of ordinary citizens. And I am convinced that the average American wants democracy at home and peace abroad. But those who want the opposite are not asleep.

First, there is strong opposition to the Afro-American freedom struggle. Many individuals and groups would block full citizenship for black Americans. These people--who do remember the past--no longer call blacks niggers. Instead, they hammer away at this foggy concept they call "law and order." They know that many will read between the lines and understand their real meaning, which is, of course, "Stay in your place, Afro-American. Passively accept your second-class role in society or suffer the consequences."

Second, those who would silence outspoken Italian-Americans are now too sophisticated to call us dumb wops and hope, thereby, that we'll fade away. Instead, they simply assert, without proof, that so-and-so has Mafia connections. And if so-and-so is seen as a genuine threat to whatever Establishment he is challenging, anonymous charges are made that he belongs to, or even

controls, the Mafia. These people obviously believe that such sensational--and unsubstantiated--charges will frighten Italian-Americans into silence and will discredit whatever they might say or do to change things.

Third, those who would prolong the senseless and evil war in Vietnam boldly assert that the peace movement is made up of what they call "un-Americans"--reds, pinks, dupes, lunatics, hippies, student leftists, and kooks. The plain truth is that millions of patriotic Americans from all walks of life oppose the war. Millions of conscientious citizens from every layer of society view the war as unconstitutional, illegal, immoral, and futile.

American planes and guns and ships are callously blowing apart a small peasant land and many of its residents. Fifty thousand of our best young men have been killed and another quarter-million wounded or maimed. Billions of dollars are wasted on death that ought to be spent on life.

Fourth, this more than any in our history is a poor man's war. The poor and the working people bear almost the entire brunt of the war. While men from middle- and upper-income families go to college or gain draft exemptions or, if drafted, win desk jobs behind the lines, poor and working-class men are drafted, assigned to combat units, wounded or killed in grossly disproportionate numbers. The poor and the workers also bear the brunt at home, suffering from low wages and high taxes, from slum housing and hunger, from dilapidated schools and hospitals, from poisoned air and water, and from devastating inflation.

It is time to end this poor-man's war. It is time to "support our men in Vietnam" by bringing them home to help us rebuild America.

Summing up--the anti-democratic and pro-war coalition tries desperately to hide an important truth: millions of ordinary citizens not only oppose the war, but also support the black freedom movement and the struggle of Italian-Americans to free themselves from ethnic slurs. (I omit mention here of similar struggles waged by other minority groups such as Spanish-speaking Americans only because my support, and that of Local 1814, is well-known.)

If Afro-Americans ever settle for less than full citizenship. . . If Italian-Americans ever become intimidated by false charges from faceless bureaucrats. . . If the peace movement ever permits the loss of the right to petition the government for redress of grievances. . .

Then and only then will we be face to face with a home-grown version of the totalitarian nightmare that has cursed this century. I am convinced that a new coalition is taking shape, one that will demand--and get--freedom at home and peace abroad.



## inaction at i.u.

--Anna Hebert and Mike Hebert

On May 5th, the forces of the establishment won by default because our side didn't show up. About a hundred people (including 65 Founders' Day walk-outs) passively took in a brief ceremony sponsored by returning I.U. vets. Another 60 or 70 people attended a memorial service held at the 3rd Street Park. And an overwhelming crowd of two or three hundred people squeezed into the I.U. Auditorium for a mass rally Wednesday afternoon.

The idea of a coalition to plan an anti-war protest had seemed like a good one. -- Collect representatives from all the anti-war forces in the Bloomington-IU community, and this will give input from a variety of different perspectives. More energy than ever will be channelled into one centrally planned action against the war.

When the coalition was formed it represented such distant political

poles as YSA and Panhellenic, People's Peace Treaty and Inter-Fraternity Council, NUC and YMCA. Rounding out the group were SANE, WILPF, SMC, an anti-war caucus of Women's Liberation, *Common Sense*, the Union Board, YWCA, IRHA, I.U. Vets for Peace, and an assortment of interested individuals.

Political differences alone seemed, at least to some, to cast a discouraging light over the possibility of creating any kind of a solid front around whatever action was to be planned. But for most, the coalition was an opportunity for local anti-war forces to reach constituencies which before had always been written off as unreachable. Thus, the collective decision was to keep tactics at a low profile in order not to discourage those who might be attending their first peace rally.

But achieving even these goals became doubtful as the series of coalition meetings progressed. Meetings were characterized by male chauvinism, inconsistent attendance on the part of

several representatives, and little collective discipline in carrying the discussion of issues and proposals through to some form of resolution.

To work out integrated, disciplined political strategy means first that all involved share at least some minimal set of political ideals. The coalition was in trouble here. Socialists confronted liberals; liberals confronted conservatives. The resulting conflict was most clearly evident in the hassle over who was to be invited to speak at the afternoon rally.

From the beginning most of the coalition members agreed that the major speaker(s) should be able to attract a large broad-based constituency. Suggested to speak were Birch Bayh, Vance Hartke, Andy Jacobs, George McGovern, and from Bloomington, Frank McCloskey, and David Rogers. As it turned out, none of these accepted. But the politics implied by such a line-up of speakers is significant. It was then pointed out that all of the proposed speakers were white. The group then arranged to include a black speaker. Next, it was noted that all the proposed speakers were men. The group responded by adding a female speaker.

The most consequential political mistake, however, was to attempt to generate anti-establishment sentiment on the basis of establishment ideology. Let's say that Vance Hartke draws a crowd of several thousand Bloomingtonians. When he calls for an end to the war he means that the war is unpopular, bad for business, bad for morale, and must be terminated so that business as usual will return. Here are all those

# MAY DAY

## Bloomington

## Washington

## one step back, two steps forward

--Chuck Kleinhans and Eric Holm

MAYDAY was a mixed bag. For the first time the white left moved backwards tactically, using massive non-violent civil disobedience as developed in the civil rights struggles of the 1960's. At the same time, MAYDAY hardly emerged as the glorious resurrection of the left and the downfall of Babylon prophesied in the MAYDAY Tactical Manual. What can we make of all this?

We see the "backward" movement to non-violent civil disobedience as an historical reversal of tactics that was nevertheless politically progressive. The white left never really took up Martin Luther King's kind of non-violent action. True, there were the sit-ins and building occupations-- Berkeley, Columbia, and even IU's Dow incident-- but in each case they were spontaneous, poorly organized, and made their point in a negative way-- police brutality became the issue, rather than our reasons for being there. We didn't publically announce our intentions in advance, organize people to participate, or proceed in an orderly and disciplined manner. (San Francisco State is a significant exception, but remains misunderstood by the left.) The "spontaneity" of campus sit-ins loaned itself to charismatic, macho male leadership. Commitment was not increased through practice, but through being clubbed. More lumps and welts were raised than political consciousness.

Two of King's key points were education and organization. Marches and sit-ins were announced in advance, after consulting with (though not necessarily following) indigenous leadership. (King was an "outside agitator" who did not feel bound by the local constituency's level of consciousness). The community was then educated to understand the tactics. Simultaneously, negotiations were held, so that when the white power center refused to move, the previously selected tactics were seen as the next logical move.

Organization was the other key: everyone knew exactly what to do. Authorities and media were made completely aware of the non-violent and civil disobedient nature of the action; that's why the tear gas canisters fired point blank into bodies, the dogs, the fire hoses, the cattle

prods and beatings were so terrible to the unpoliticized.

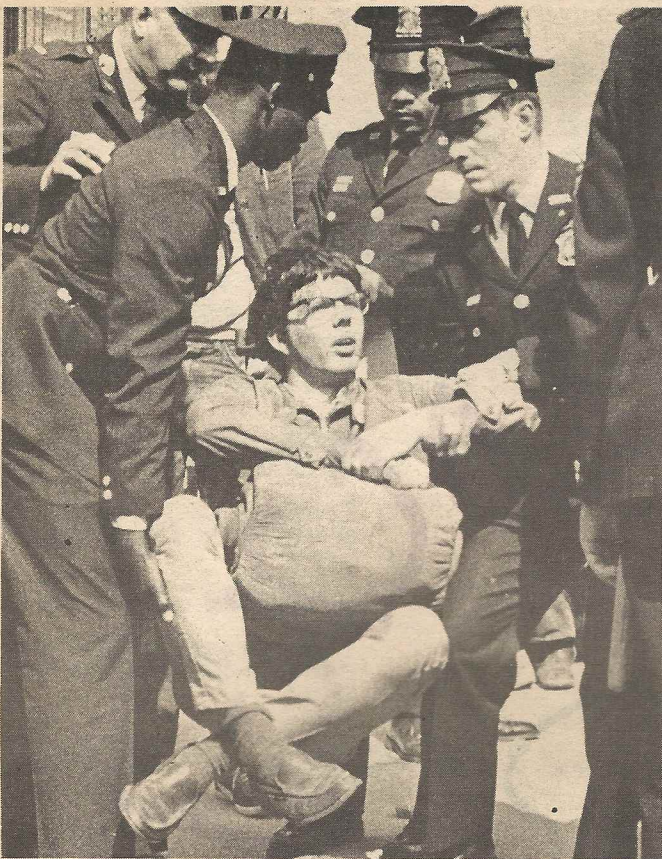
The federal government finally moved to stop King's tactics. The Federal Conspiracy Act was the result (used to try the Chicago 8). Clearly the government realizes the political threat of massive non-violent civil disobedience, and will go to any extreme, including police provocateurs, to discredit the actions. If the government is so uptight about this tactic, there is good reason for the movement to consider using it again and again.

As for the actual working out of tactics in Washington, a number of crucial mistakes were made. It is possible to stop traffic in a large city with minimal numbers of people, but the wide avenues and large circles of Washington were not the best targets. Stalling single cars on expressways and exit ramps in Maryland and Virginia would have cut off traffic effectively, and a dedicated band of 5-10 could have then proceeded with a random letting air out of tires in the backup. What MAYDAY needed was someone who knew a lot about urban traffic control for advice. Having a large base camp that could be (and was) busted up before the action was another problem.

More complications emerged when a vast majority of participants decided not to sit down and passively await arrest, but to use hit-and-run tactics instead. The main reason for the second alternative seemed to be the widespread feeling Sunday night that the government was not, in fact, going to be shut down, so why be pointlessly busted? Although orthodox pacifists were probably upset with this failure of strict self-discipline and adherence to previously agreed-upon tactics, it was actually inherent in the "multi-tactical" line of the MAYDAY Tribe and in the decentralized independence of each region and affinity group. While hit-and-run evasion is open to the charge of not taking the consequences of resistance seriously, people who make this objection assume that going to jail is somehow a necessary part of civil disobedience, which it isn't. If you are morally justified in protesting, then your being jailed is immoral and illegitimate and you are under no obligation to collaborate.

The real question to ask about MAYDAY tactics is, "how effective were they?" They challenged the government to prove its ability to handle semi-random, semi-organized acts of disruption on its own turf, and the government went into a huddle to figure out how to deal with all those celebrants, quite as blandly to all outward, official appearances, as if an extralarge and extragarish





on the importance of expressing regret and sorrow over the unfortunate and isolated tragedies of Kent and Jackson State. Unfortunately, liberalism, regret, and sorrow do not bring about fundamental social change. When the war ends, America will not be a nice place. Corporate monopolies have acquired an unquenchable thirst as the result of the "easy pickin's" in South-east Asia. Like water finding its own level, when the time comes, American corporate imperialism will shift its focus elsewhere from Vietnam.

The liberal strategies of the coalition may well have been an accurate "least common denominator" of its diverse political make-up. But that kind of apolitical planning can only be successful with the aid of some genuine crisis such as a local fee increase, a Cambodian invasion, etc. It is unlikely that the coalition could have created anything other than what actually happened on May 5th. There was no crisis. The establishment press had already made it clear that the government appreciated the enthusiastic encouragement of the April 24th marchers, and that there was no need to press the Nixon administration on the war any more, and that they were doing all they could to end it. Furthermore, that same establishment press effectively blacked out any wide-spread coverage of the purposes behind the May Day actions in Washington D.C. They convinced the public that these were just some crazy, dope-shooting loonies who weren't able to appreciate (as the April 24th marchers did) the obvious sincerity of Nixon's pledge to end the

war. So why should anyone have wanted to come out on May 5th?

Could the coalition have overcome these obstacles? Probably not. It seemed interested in building an anti-war crowd, not an anti-war movement. Calling for an anti-war crowd means announcing to all guilt-ridden liberals that here is a chance to chalk up some anti-war "time" before getting back to business as usual. Anti-war movements on the other hand, attract people who share-- at various levels of understanding--a realization that war (like racism, sexism, and other forms of exploitation) is eliminated only as the result of an integrated political strategy, with long as well as short range goals. Unless this latter perspective is adopted, future coalitions seem unfeasible. And if such is the case, it must be assumed that the largely white, middle-class, anti-war movement is not part of a sustained political revolution, but rather a collection of rally-goers who occasionally call for mass expressions of resentment and who take advantage of the interim periods to retreat back into their non-oppressed world.

people standing in visible support of a man who--under the guise of liberalism--represents a government which is so locked into profit-making that it cannot possibly relinquish its grip on foreign territories. And so all that potential movement energy gets dumped into the hands of the establishment.

A basic assumption underlying the coalition's Hartke-type ideology was the feeling that if only the war would end, America would be a nice place again. This kind of apolitical posture gave rise to the coalition's emphasis

*There will be a celebration of Ho Chi Minh's birthday Wednesday May 19 at 7:30 in Alumni Hall - MUSIC*

*On May 25-28th Indianapolis is hosting the NATO Conference on the Cities. A counter-conference, a rally and march for Pres. Nixon, and promotion of the People's Peace Treaty are planned. For more information call Sharon Mason 6-0459.*

Shriners convention had arrived. While the police managed to avoid traffic-snarling mob gassings and Chicago-type police riots, and indeed were unable to arrest enough people during rush hour of May 3 to make themselves look good (only 2400 by the end of rush hour at 8:30), they still blew it. Between morning and late evening they used indiscriminant mass arrest of youths and bystanders to raise the body count to over 7,000.

By their own standards, this destroyed the illusion of law. While the mass arrests, and arrests without charges, did have the immediate effect of blunting the protest, the dragnet techniques created a new credibility gap for the public. Moving cars over highways was demonstrated as more important than legal procedures. The 13,400 arrested learned that lesson concretely, and carried it back to friends and their schools. Next time there will be no illusions.

The most important lesson to be learned from the spring anti-war actions is, however not tactical, but strategic. First of all, the presence of the veterans, which set the mood for what followed, was crucial, and this group was not politicized by the campus left at all but by default. Last year the local Veterans for Peace was an officer-run campus front for Birch Bayh's campaign. This year it is made up of militant enlisted men...and it is politically naive and macho, but that won't change unless the left works with it concretely, by finally moving beyond its self-selected constituency.

Similarly, MAYDAY was the first significant move of counter-culture people into political action. The left has been remarkably elitist about this constituency, and left them to Rennie Davis, Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin; but for all the macho and stunted politics of those leaders, they did get their people out. If the left wants to change the political direction of the tribes, it is going to have to struggle with them in solidarity instead of playing Thersites on the sidelines.

Another constituency wasn't represented, and remains untouched by the movement: working class youth. At least those in unions can relate to militancy, but all of them remain chained to jobs: they can't take off for MAYDAY as students can. A solution must be found, most likely a local one.

The New Left acted mainly through the People's Peace Treaty locally and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice nationally. It joined the anti-war struggle with the social justice fight. Everyone is still speculating if a local autonomy organization can continue to function

after its big national action. We think it can. The disillusion and exhaustion of previous spring actions does not seem to have set in, and a transitional Vietnam Summer type of functioning may carry us into the fall with strength.

Finally, the spring actions revealed the sterile vacuity and irrelevance of the Old Left and its tactical allies. The Student Mobilization Committee, a front group for the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance, dominated the April 24th National Peace Action Coalition, which produced such acute political perceptions as the speech at Washington on April 24th by a Businessman for



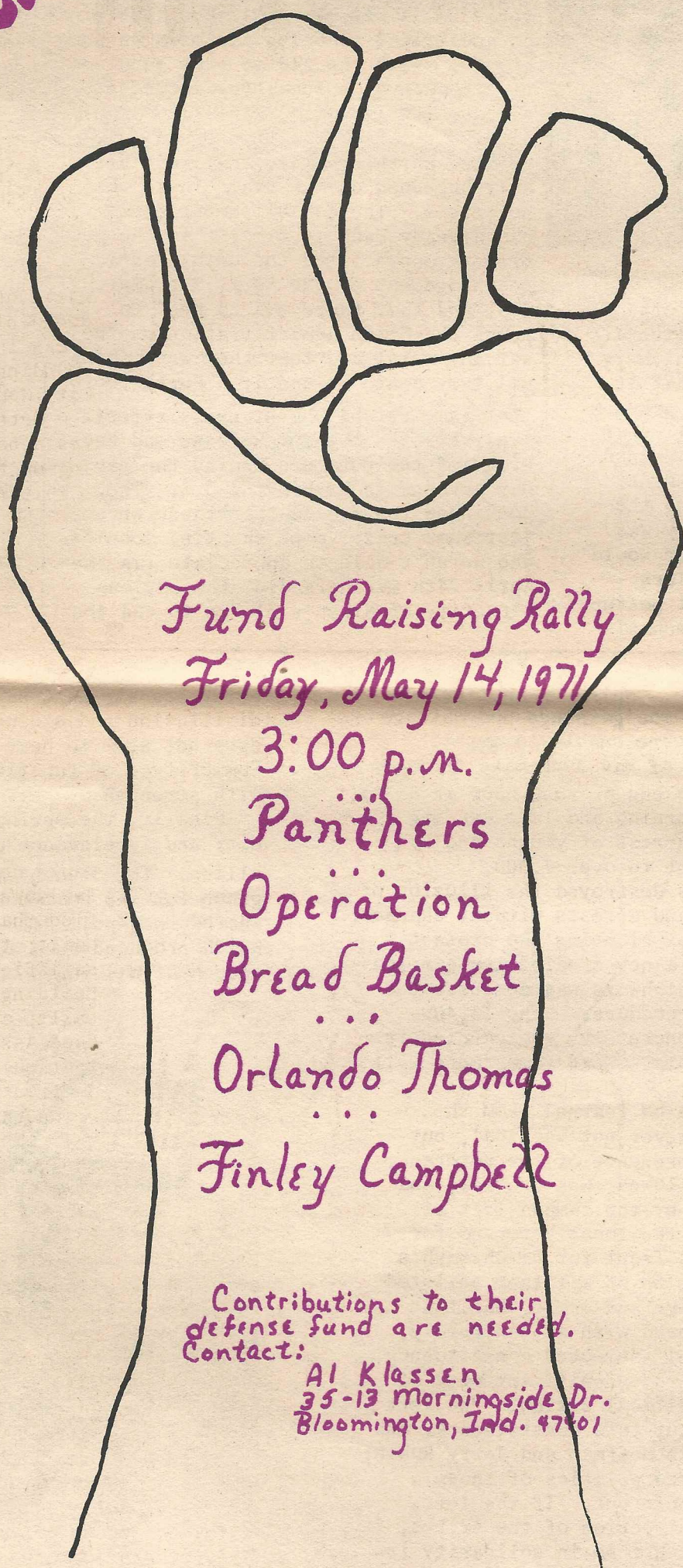
*Photos by Robin Conway*

Peace ("This war is bad for business!")

MAYDAY was a step backward, tactically; but it was a leap forward politically. The mobilizations and rallies and teach-ins and petitions have failed to end the war...pragmatically they may be useful, but they alone should not be the limits of our range of action. The semi-illegal Pentagon March of 1967 was a significant advance in anti-war protest. MAYDAY was too. It is up to us to build on that momentum.



# REMEMBER THE LOCK-INS!



Fund Raising Rally

Friday, May 14, 1971

3:00 p.m.

Panthers

Operation

Bread Basket

...

Orlando Thomas

...

Finley Campbell

Contributions to their  
defense fund are needed.

Contact:

Al Klassen  
35-13 Morningside Dr.  
Bloomington, Ind. 47401

# TRIAL